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others (see Pl. 4). Here the women work, cook, and gossip; the men may join them if they wish, except the boys wearing the *upi* (leaf hat connected with puberty ceremonies), to whom all that portion of the village is rigorously taboo.

The interior is alike in all. There are no dividing partitions. The floor is the bare earth, trodden hard. The only furniture is a row of broad planks propped up on small logs, along one side of the hut, which serve as beds. Short lengths of bamboo are used as pillows. Between each plank is just space enough for a small fire. There is probably a place for roasting taro with the aid of hot stones, the native oven, at the farther end of the hut near the women's entrance. Cooking pots, the cleaned-out coco-nut shells used to store water, packs for carrying taro, and a few personal possessions, lie on the ground; sometimes a plank is laid across two poles to form a shelf on which such objects can be kept out of the way. Bundles containing more valuable property hang from the rafters, tied up in banana fibre or old loin-cloths. Every returned plantation hand is the proud possessor of a wooden box with lock and key, part of the kit which must be provided by the employer for each of his 'boys' when they 'sign on', which he displays in a prominent position. All sorts of treasures such as medicine bundles, knives, &c., are stowed away between the thatch and the supporting rafters. Nets and banana-fibre straps for carrying burdens hang over the cross-poles that form part of the framework of the hut, and there is usually a basket containing some pieces of cold taro in case any one feels hungry at a time when it is not convenient to cook.

As a rule, the household consists of father, mother, and children. In the case of polygynous marriages, each wife will usually have her own hut, particularly if she has children, and the husband distributes his company as he pleases, spending a certain amount of time with the woman who ranks as his chief wife, but most of it with the one who for the time being stands highest in favour. A wife who is old or incapacitated, or one whose children have all started out for themselves, will often share a hut with one of the other wives, not always amicably. In some of the Buka villages large huts are now built, housing all the wives of one man; the interior of these is partitioned off into rooms for each. An aged parent of either sex may also form part of the household, the taboo between mother-in-law and son-in-law being relaxed when the former is old.

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plantations as casuals, and a number of them did so intermittently, returning to the village to sleep.

The excess of boys over adolescent girls is explained by the fact that many of the girls were living with their prospective relatives-in-law in other villages, while the brides of the boys wearing the *upi* remained with their own people till after the *watawutʃ*.

One man has four wives, one has three, and five have two. One of these is a boy still wearing the *upi*, whose 'wives'—they are spoken of as such although the marriage rites have not been completed—do not yet live in the village, but pay short visits only.

Leaving out the 25 boys wearing the *upi*, and 4 men who sleep with them in the *tobār*, there are 107 individuals (72 adults and 35 children) living in 27 huts. The majority of huts have 3 or 4 inhabitants. The largest number sleeping, habitually, in the same hut is 7, which happens in 3 cases. One hut has a solitary occupant, an old widow, whose children are all dead.

THE DAILY ROUND

The village day begins at sunrise, with a leisurely stroll, during which frequent halts are made to enjoy the morning sun. It is not often that we wake to rain; that comes generally later in the day. The women take a briefer stroll, return home, and begin to rake together the ashes of the fire, probably still hot from having smouldered through the night. Soon the native Mission teacher blows the conch-shell which is the signal for Mass, and those who feel so inclined make their way to the church. (The church is beside the road, hidden by trees from the village, hence it does not appear in the plan. The villagers had just finished its construction when I came to live among them.) On their return, the women uncover the ovens in which taro has meanwhile been roasting, or they may boil some instead, or, if there is any over from yesterday, it may be eaten cold, together with any bits of fish or other relish that may be available. The men come along presently, the children are called up, and every one eats, but not a large meal. If the village is by the sea, some families will take their meal on to the beach and eat it round a fire kindled there. Then the women collect the scraps and call the pigs, who come on hearing their names. All now sit about for awhile, gossiping and making arrangements for the day.

The women presently pick up their knives and packs (made of

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lived, the same kind of life as commoners, observing the same taboos, working at the same tasks, eating the same food, and living in the same kind of huts. To this last statement there is one exception. The hut in which lives the chief wife of the head of the *tsunaun* lineage, who is usually herself *tsunaun*, has an extension in front of it, roofed, and walled at the sides but open in front, and provided with the usual platform. This is called the 'eye' of the house. Here is kept the slit-gong belonging to the *tsunaun*, which is beaten on ceremonial occasions as well as for dances. Here the older men of the village will sometimes congregate to talk, while the boys and younger men use the front of the men's house for that purpose. Except on certain ceremonial occasions, women are not allowed there, as it is only an extension of the *tagoan*, or men's verandah, of the ordinary houses. This extension makes the house the longest in the village. Its interior is no different from that of other houses. The houses occupied by other members of the *tsunaun* lineage do not differ at all, either inside or out, from those of commoners. There is no distinctive dress or attached ornament peculiar to *tsunaun*, but some of the cicatrized patterns may not be cut upon commoners.

So far as I can ascertain, the prestige of a *tsunaun* was never directly a matter of the possession of property. He is not expected to give large feasts at his own expense. If the group is concerned in an important ceremony, for which much food must be provided, he will contribute as much as possible, but the others must bring their own contributions as well. He does, as a rule, own more strings of ceremonial currency than most people can boast of, either handed down on the death of former *tsunaun* or received as payment for favours shown. But he needs more than a commoner to provide for the marriage payments of the young men of his lineage, who, being themselves *tsunaun*, should marry women equal to them in position.

A *tsunaun* usually has several wives, but that is not in itself a sign of rank, since commoners may also have as many as they wish and can provide for. He will, however, usually be betrothed to at least two while still a mere boy, whereas the commoner is probably betrothed in youth to one only, pleasing himself as to any subsequent marriages. It is usual for the first wife of a man who is *tsunaun* to be herself *tsunaun*, belonging to another village, and usually to another clan. His other wives may, if he so desires, be

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565 commoners, but in that case their children are not *tsunaun*, and
595 there is no possibility of their acquiring that status either by
611 courtesy or by reason of any ceremonial procedure or by payment. Children by a woman who is *tsunaun* in her own right in another village are given their full meed of honour in that village, even though they may live with their father's people. They receive a measure of recognition in their father's village, but cannot succeed to the headship there. To illustrate by a concrete case: Rus, Pinari's chief wife, to whom he had been betrothed in childhood, was the sister of the *tsunaun* of the village of Ieta, on the southern coast of Buka, across Buka Passage. She had an elder sister, Kiots, whose son, Gerwan, was the next in succession at Ieta, but after his death, Wasē, son of Rus and Pinari, would be *tsunaun* at Ieta. Owing, as Pinari said, to his fear of 'poison', and as other people said, to pressure from his father, who was anxious to keep him among his followers, Wasē decided, on the death of his mother's elder brother, with whom he had been staying, to return and take up his residence at Kurtatchi. Here he was treated with respect as the son of Pinari, but it was explained to me that he was only 'half-*tsunaun*' in that village, and was definitely inferior in position to Kakari, Pinari's 'sister's' son. Pinari pushed him to the fore as much as he could, and did his best to play him against Kakari, whom he covertly disliked. Actually Wasē took quite a prominent part in the affairs of the village, and was to share with Kakari the responsibility for organizing the *watawūtʃ* ceremony under Pinari's tuition.

565 A woman who is *tsunaun* may marry a commoner if she likes
582 him, and if he can produce the necessary large amount of cere-
611 monial currency. The children of such a marriage are *tsunaun*; the fact that their father was a commoner makes no difference at all.

565 Although it may easily happen that a *tsunaun* is possessed of
754 special knowledge of some particular kind of magic, this is inci-
789 dental to his position and not essentially connected with it. Magical knowledge is just as often the property of commoners. Sobak, one of the rain-makers of Kurtatchi, is a commoner. Pinari, the *tsunaun tʃan*, took the principal part at the ceremony for planting a new taro garden described in Chapter IX, but at a precisely comparable ceremony performed for a taro garden belonging to Tabut, that role was filled by a commoner. Examples might be multiplied. But those who are *tsunaun* are regarded as specially

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in the following notes. Relationship may also be expressed by a transitive verb formed out of these terms and the causative prefix *wa-* which may be said to correspond to our *be-* as in 'befriend'. For example, *wataman* or *watʃinan* means to stand to a person in the relation of father or mother; *Nomoin wapi'an pi Gav* means 'Nomoin is *pi'an* to Gav' (i.e. is his cross-cousin).

Notes on the relationship terms

1. *Tʃina- : bai'i.*

Tʃina- is applied primarily to the actual mother. Second to her in importance comes the mother's sister, then her ortho-cousins (the daughters of her mother's sister).

On the other side of the family it is given to the father's sisters and his parallel cousins (the daughters of his father's brother). Further, it is used of any woman added to the parental generation on both sides by the fact of her marriage to any of either parent's siblings or parallel cousins.

There is never any confusion in the mind of the speaker between his actual mother and the other women to whom he applies this term. Among these others his feelings of nearness and affection vary in intensity. Nearest to his own mother comes his mother's sister, who, if she should be resident in the same village, has helped to look after him from his earliest babyhood. The relatives on his father's side, i.e. his father's sister and his father's brother's wife, stand further from him, though he will accord them respect and help them if need arise, just as readily as he helps his mother's relations.

The bond between a girl and her actual mother remains very close throughout life, for even if she goes to live with her husband's people, she will often come home for long visits. A boy is taken from his mother when he goes into the bush preparatory to putting on the *upi*, and their connexion is henceforth but distant until after the *upi* has been ceremonially removed, perhaps ten years later. During the intervening years he sleeps in the men's house, and consorts only with people of his own sex. After this, he may return to live in his mother's hut, perhaps bringing his wife there, or he may build another hut for himself and his wife. He is then expected to look after his mother and to help her with her heavy work, and to care for her if she is left a widow in her old age.

In the case of a man with more than one wife, the term *tʃina-* is

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applied by all the children to all of them. But the use of the term does not in this instance imply that any motherly care is shown by one wife towards the children of another. As a rule they live in separate huts, and each looks after her own offspring, the others having much less to do with their co-wife's children than has the latter's sister, except in the case of a man marrying two sisters, when the 'mother's sister' relation holds good. Otherwise, one wife, if she takes any notice at all of the child of another, is more likely to 'put upon' the child if she be a girl, making her run errands and do other work for her. In some instances which came under my notice this was a source of quarrel between the domineering wife and her husband, who took his child's part against her.

The word *tʃinanē* is never used as a form of address. A child calls his mother *na*. Children must never use their mother's personal name, but when they are grown up and the mother is old, they may use some name which has been given to her on a special occasion, perhaps when her husband dies. For example, Tchub may not call his mother by her personal name Diwats, but he may use the name Pasu, which means 'short of breath', and was given to her because her husband fought for breath before he died. It is by this name that she is generally known in the village, the other I learned first while taking her family's genealogy.

2. *Tama- : bai'i.*

The views of these natives in regard to physical paternity and the customary procedure when extra-marital intercourse results in pregnancy are discussed in Chapter IV. For sociological purposes the term *tama-* may be described as applying to the mother's husband. Where a widow or a divorced woman remarries, it is applied by her children to her new husband. In the majority of cases the most important person to whom an individual applies the term *tamanē* ('my father') is actually the child's physiological father. Its extensions are to the father's brother, all the father's male cousins, and the mother's sister's husband.

The bond between a father and his children is a close and affectionate one; it is expressed in caresses while the children are little, and, when they are older, in the lively interest the father takes in all their doings and the affairs of their everyday lives. The connexion between father and son is not interrupted, as is that

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persons concerned are of opposite sexes, as in the case of a woman and her husband's father. The son's wife spends a great deal of her time between betrothal and marriage living in the hut of her *ruanbē-* and working for them. After marriage the couple may live near them or near the wife's parents, but in the latter case will pay extended visits to her husband's parents at intervals.

14. *Suwan* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used by both parents of the husband in reference to both parents of his wife, and reciprocally by the parents of the woman in reference to the parents of the man. At the beginning of the young couple's married life the *suwan* relationship is accompanied by certain taboos which are considered only second in importance to those associated with the *waris* relationship. They do not, however, include any prohibition against seeing each other or against addressing each other directly, except that names may not be used, the term *suwan* serving as a form of address. *Suwan* may not touch one another, they may not eat in each other's presence, or even chew areca-nut together. But there is no objection to their sleeping in the same house.

These restrictions are removed when the wife has her first child, even if it dies. The two mothers prepare food, the two fathers prepare ceremonial pudding, and all four *suwan* eat together, each couple eating what the other couple has prepared, and the taboo is thus lifted.

15. *Taō* (co-wife).

This term is used by one of the wives of a man to refer to, and also sometimes to address, any of his other wives, though there is no restriction on the use of names in addressing one another. No distinction in terminology is made between the first or chief wife, and subsequent wives, but in practice the latter are supposed to give way to the former, though, if they stand high in their husband's favour, they probably will not do so. The man calls his wives *mon* without distinction of priority.

RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM AND REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

There are no enjoined or preferred marriages in this system. Although the boy may be, and generally is, older than the girl, marriages are, in general, with mates of the same generation.

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582 (Exceptions to this occur in the case of men who have several
[595] wives, their later acquisitions being sometimes much younger than the husbands.) It will be remembered that parallel cousins are classed with siblings, with whom marriage is forbidden, and that cross-cousins (*pi'dn*) are taboo relatives, marriage between whom, though falling short of incest, is viewed with decided disapproval, and this although the individuals belong to different clans. These restrictions, taken together, rule out marriages between all the people who appear in the tables of relationship terms. It follows that a man's wife must be chosen from outside his relations on both sides of the house. As a matter of fact, the more distant extensions of the terms are not always kept in mind, especially if the people concerned live in a far-off village, so that if all the genealogies were followed back for another generation or two, intermarriages would doubtless be brought to light. But these would be incidental, and would not invalidate the system as here described, since the relationships are not considered by the individuals concerned in arranging the marriage. Intermarriages between relatives do occasionally occur, but the amount of care taken to impress upon me that they were irregular, in such examples as I came across, shows that they are never taken as a matter of course. Some of these have already been mentioned. Another, possessing unusual features, is perhaps worth detailing at some length.

582 A girl named Pariban fell in love with a young man named
588 Paribuin, and persuaded him to have intercourse with her in the
[836] bush. The two were caught, and there was great consternation on the part of their elders, because they stood to each other in the relationship of *wevnē-* owing to the fact that their maternal grandmothers were sisters. Finally they were permitted to marry in
[839] spite of this. But the rest of the lineage group were very angry, and in revenge Sarumpots, the grandson of another sister, seized Gomar, the (actual) sister of Paribuin (to whom he stood in exactly the same relation as Paribuin did to Pariban), while she was working in the taro garden, and forced her to have intercourse with him. When it was settled that Parabuin was to be allowed to marry Pariban, Sarumpots married Gomar, but great stress was laid by my informants on the fact that this marriage would not have been possible had it not been for the other. Once these marriages had taken place the matter was considered regularized, and on Parabuin's death without children Pariban duly became the wife of

[i.e., Marriages generally being with mates of the same generation. — Analyst]

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except for a visit. Whenever she does this, her mother must always make some *menak* and bring it back with the girl, whom she must escort in person.

After one of these visits to her mother a further ceremonial gift is made by the girl's mother to the boy's people. On her return she is accompanied by a number of women from her own village, bringing *menak* and taro, both cooked and raw. A few men accompany them, carrying a pig, which must be alive. Some ceremonial currency is also brought; the amount varies and is apparently immaterial. In the two cases personally known to me, for Tchawawan two fathoms of *imun* and one of *beroan*, for Tagoal one of *imun* and one of *beroan* were brought.[1] On this occasion the girl and the women who accompany her come round to the front of the boy's mother's hut and go in by the men's entrance (*tagoan*), never used by women in the ordinary way. The pig is brought as payment for the privilege of using the front part of the house. If no pig were forthcoming, whenever the boy's mother was angry with the girl she would taunt her with it, saying: 'Why does this woman sit down in my *tagoan*? What did you bring me? Your people did not bring me a pig to eat, you have not paid for my *tagoan*.' That is why they bring a pig. If it were not done, the wife could not go into the front portion of the hut, and she would not be allowed to perform certain personal services for her husband, such as cutting his hair and putting paint on it in preparation for ceremonies or dancing. Tagoal remained with Kiram's people for four weeks after this ceremony.

During the next few years the girl spends much of her time with her husband's people, living in her mother-in-law's hut, and working for her. But if the boy is still wearing the *upi* she must not speak to him, though she may do him small services. The boy's mother says to her: 'Do not be shy of your husband. If I am not here when he asks for taro, you go and give it to him.' (A boy wearing the *upi* is allowed to come to the door of his mother's hut to fetch the taro she has cooked for him, but he may not enter it.) In the case of a girl married to a man who already has a wife and a hut of his own, she lives in his hut and helps his other wife, but the marriage is never consummated during this period. Takon,

[1] The strings of *beroan* worn by Tagoal in the photograph (Pl. 7a) were all taken off before her relatives went home, and put on a much smaller girl in the party, who wore them back to Ruri.

[Cat. 116) facing p. 87. — Annotation]

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583 the young wife of Wasē, aged perhaps ten (Pl. 7*b*), was thus living
● 595 in Wasē's hut at the time of my residence.

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

585 No further ceremony takes place until the girl has 'grown big'. Some people wait until she has menstruated for the first time before they hold the feast at which she is given to her husband, sometimes it is held before she has menstruated, in which case the husband does not wait for this to happen before consummating the marriage.

585 When the time for this feast is getting near, all the women *kōma*
285 (dance and yell, see p. 414). At first they *kōma* without feasting
[386] for several nights. They prepare baskets to hold the food to be used in the ceremony. These are made of a kind of rattan cane dyed red (*riri*). The coastal people are obliged to buy this red cane
[438] from the people of the mountains, who alone know the secret of the dye. The baskets are trimmed with *beroan* round the edges, and trade beads are hung over them. Before they had any trade beads they used dogs' teeth for this purpose. The baskets are also trimmed with all sorts of aromatic plants and leaves. The boy's mother makes one basket, the girl's mother makes another. The general name for these baskets is *seban*; the special name for baskets made by the people of the Nakarib clan is *kuwir* or *kuwirtsun*, for those of the Naboin clan *popalat*. When the baskets are finished, all the women come with them and hang them up on the branch of a tree, then the women take bows and arrows, paddles, axes, &c., and jump about (*sani*) waving them, and the slit-gong is beaten.

585 When the time for the feast is close at hand, the basket made by the boy's mother is taken down and put in her hut. The girl's people come and fetch it, bringing in exchange the basket made by the girl's mother. This is a sign that the girl's mother has enough pigs and other food for the marriage ceremony. They take back the basket made by the boy's mother, which remains for a while at the house of the girl's mother, and the women of the girl's village go through the same performance with the bows and arrows and paddles.

[417] Meanwhile, the people of the boy's village have been making a platform (*tiwan*) out of split areca-palm trunks. The men make it in the bush, and leave it on the road close to the village. The women of the village go, singing, and ornament it with flowers and

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582 experienced her first menstruation, though there appear to be [585] some exceptions to this latter rule. A youth who is *tsunaun* will 565 have more than one wife assigned to him at an early age. They 582 are called husband and wife from the time of betrothal. Kiram, 595 a lad of fourteen or fifteen, had for his first 'wife' Tagoal, a girl of perhaps ten or twelve (see Pl. 7 *a*). For her the ceremonial currency had been handed over. His second 'wife', Buin, was about seven or eight, and was still spending most of her time with her mother, the currency not having changed hands as yet.

574 During the years between betrothal and the marriage ceremony, 584 the girl pays long and frequent visits to her husband's people, or 883 may, in some cases, be taken over by them altogether, particularly if her mother is not living. But if the boy still wears the *upi*, they are kept rigorously apart; there is no chance of their getting to know each other at all, and when the time comes for the marriage to be consummated they are still practically strangers. Some girls fret a good deal on their visits to their 'in-laws', others appear to settle down quite happily. As regards the routine of her life, the early betrothal makes little difference to a girl. She works for her husband's people instead of for her own, and looks after his babies, if he is already married, instead of the babies of her mother's family. She is, as a rule, well treated by her prospective mother-in-law, and drops into place with the girls of her own age in the village, who treat her as one of themselves.

BEGINNING OF MARRIED LIFE

591 After the final marriage ceremony, the young couple usually settle down near the husband's people, sometimes actually in his mother's hut, to begin with. Kakari and Muben were still living with Matēv nine months after their marriage, in spite of Matēv's repeated hints that it was time he built a hut for himself in the vacant space next to hers. But sometimes, under pressure from the girl's people, the couple will live in her village, especially if she be a person of importance. There are enough instances of both practices to suggest that it is not correct to describe these natives as either 'matri-' or 'patrilocal', but that there is freedom of choice, with the balance towards the custom of living in the village which was the husband's home before marriage. In either case, they will, in years to come, spend a certain amount of time in the village which was the home of the other partner.

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593 his own to worry about, did not take much notice of her, in spite of her shy efforts to tend and please him. It was obvious that she was lonely and unhappy, although Kakari's mother, Matĕv, was kind to her, and encouraged her to take her share in the life of the village. Before I left she had begun to settle down better, and the two of them might be seen going about together, but Kakari never seemed to appreciate her, though she was acknowledged to be an attractive girl.

LATER MARRIED LIFE

[576] How much affection eventually grows up between the young husband and his still younger wife, it is difficult to say. Etiquette forbids any show of affection in public, and in such personal matters one is obliged, obviously, to rely largely upon inference. So far as my observation goes, it seemed to me that the younger [837] men were often neglectful of their wives. This may in part have been due to shyness, but in more than one case known to me the youth was certainly carrying on an intrigue with another man's wife a couple of months or so after the consummation of his own marriage. Judging from external appearance, the early years of a young couple's life together seem, in many cases, to be difficult and perhaps unhappy. But man and wife eventually become accustomed to each other and settle down, especially when there ● 595 are children, for the most part amicably enough. In later married life I noticed that deference was shown to a man's first wife, to whom he had been betrothed in childhood, beyond that bestowed upon subsequent wives, and if she were dead she was referred to in terms implying affection, at least this seemed to be the case with some of the men whose marriages came under discussion in the 593 course of taking their genealogies. It was more difficult to get the women to talk about their husbands. Some old widows looked back upon their married lives with anything but pleasure, but in other cases there was evidence of real affection, an outstanding [764] example being that of the widow, a middle-aged woman still not unattractive, who begged that her husband might be buried in the house, and who was determined not to marry again because she had cared so much for him. This attitude was perfectly comprehensible to the village, and was said not to be unusual.

On the whole, I incline to think that a census of happy, unhappy, and tolerable marriages among these people would reveal about the

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dead for rather less than a year when I was at Kurtatchi. She had not remarried, and seemed to have no wish to do so. The general opinion was that she was a bad wife and because of her reputation for hardness would not easily get another husband. As the daughter of Matēv and mother of a future *tsunaun*, she has a position in the village in her own right, and Pinari, her *tsoa* (mother's brother), sees to it that she does not want. Here, again, the failure of the marriage seems to have been the fault of the woman, but in this case only one of the pair is personally known to me.

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CHOICE OF A MATE

The prearranged marriage makes it impossible to study the motives that enter into the choice of a mate in the case of young people. They have no choice in the matter. This applies to a man's first marriage always, and in the case of a *tsunaun* probably to the second and perhaps to the third. An older man takes other wives selected by himself according to his own preference, and if the woman he decides upon be young, she has probably little say in the matter, provided her relatives agree to the match. But if she definitely dislikes him, she may prevail on her people not to sanction it. Not infrequently a man chooses as his second wife the full (usually younger) sister of his first. This seems, as far as I could judge, to be a successful arrangement as a rule. I knew fairly intimately several families in which this had been done, and the two sisters seemed to get on very amicably together. In all the instances which came under my personal observation they each had a hut, but were next-door neighbours. In the case best known to me, the husband lived most of the time with the elder sister, but treated both well. There were two children of the first wife's living, the elder adolescent; three others had died. The second wife had one child; two had died. The two households worked and played together very pleasantly, so far as an outsider could judge.

584 595

The women would not admit that they had any say at all in the matter of a husband, even apart from the early betrothal. It did not occur to them to rebel against the customary procedure. But more than one man told me that one of his wives asked him to take her because she liked him so much, although, since I was never able to get this confirmed by the women, I cannot decide how much the statement owed to male vanity, or its denial to female

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If a woman is angry with her husband, her method of retaliation is to go off to her own people, if her village is within reach, taking the youngest child with her. This usually brings the husband over within a day or two, with entreaties to return, because he cannot bear to be parted from his baby. Sometimes his wife will persistently refuse to come back for a long time, and there will be talk of a divorce, but in the end she will relent. This happened again and again in the course of my stay at Kurtatchi.

There is 'medicine' to make a runaway wife come back:

If your wife runs away from you, get some of the leaves of the plant *rukut*, squeeze out the sap, then get some one to steal your wife's pipe, put some of the sap inside the pipe and have it given back to her. As she smokes it her thoughts will turn to you and she will come back.

Sometimes marital quarrels end in the suicide of one or other of the pair. This question is discussed in further detail in Chapter XIV. Suffice it to say in the present context that the examples which came to my notice—by hearsay, however, only—lead me to suggest that these people do not support Havelock Ellis's suggestion that 'among primitive peoples suicide from erotic motives seems to occur chiefly among women' (1933, p. 277).

SOME TYPICAL MARITAL HISTORIES

The information given in the preceding paragraphs was obtained from several informants at different times, and where occasion arose was corroborated by my own observation. Several of the points are illustrated by the matrimonial adventures of Pinari, the *tauwau tsau* at Kurtatchi, which may be considered typical, except that most men content themselves with three or four wives to Pinari's eleven, of whom, however, only four are now living.

Marital history of Pinari

1. He was betrothed to Ruru, a woman of rank at Ieta, when both were young. She bore him six children, of whom three are living, now adult and married. She had been dead for some years when I was at Kurtatchi, but was always spoken of by Pinari as if he had cared for her.

2. Tchinagot. Was married to Pinari when she was quite a small child, as his second wife, but died before the marriage was consummated. Pinari regretted this very much. He said she was 'very good'.

3. Tchinawea. Died with her first child, who died also.

4. Tauwo. Had two children by Pinari, one died in infancy, the other is now about six or seven, and is looked after by Pinari. She has

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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595 been dead for some years. Pinari had nothing to say about these two women.

[586] 5, 6. Esa and Tchinawat. Both these women were divorced by Pinari shortly after marriage because they did not get on with his chief wife Rusu. Pinari said he told them: 'If you are not cross you can stay, if you are cross you can go back to your own home, I don't like you any more.' Eventually his brother Boie married both of them; when he died they went back to their own village. Both are now dead.

[588] 7. Gomar. Was married as a child to Sarumpots, the son of Pinari's mother by another husband. He was eaten by a shark before she had had any children by him. This marriage was highly irregular (it is discussed on p. 76), but having taken place, Pinari's succession to her as his brother's widow was quite in order. She is now Pinari's chief wife, since the death of Rusu. Pinari liked her, and made magic to gain her love.[1] They seem to get on very well together, though she now takes second place in his regard, I think, to Kwimau. Her first child died when a few days old. The second is now in her early twenties. Then she lost four in infancy, and has now an infant about a year old.

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[588] 8. Kwimau, whom he married after nos. 5 and 6 had been divorced. This marriage was also irregular, since she is Pinari's mother's brother's daughter (*pi'an*), usually a forbidden relationship (see Chap. II). Pinari says they liked each other so much that he had to take her. She is markedly his favourite; he usually occupies her hut, shows her great deference, and chooses her as his companion on various occasions. She has two sons by him, both still quite little.

[837] 9. Kumun. A commoner belonging to this village. She married a man belonging to a village about ten miles off, and lived there till he died. Then she came back to live with her grandfather at Kurtatchi, and Pinari took a fancy to her and 'bought' her from him. She has had three children by her first husband and one by Pinari, but all are dead. She has a reputation for carrying on intrigues with other men, and after one of the villagers was found in her hut, Pinari took her away to live at the taro garden for a long time. When I left she was pregnant. Pinari declared the child was not his, but she refused to admit that any one else was responsible for it. Pinari was very angry about it, but it seemed to me to be more because his dignity was outraged by the fact that some one had dared to interfere with his—the *tsunaun's*—wife, in his own hut, than because he cared much for Kumun. She is, I think, very highly sexed, and was much freer with speech and gesture in public than most of the women. She is known to make assignations for other women with their lovers.

10. Kamits. Had been the wife of a man named Soli, by whom she

[1] The magic he used is recorded on p. 121.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
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had two children. Pinari married her after Soli's death, and took one child. The other is being looked after by Soli's people at the village of Ruri. No children by Pinari.

11. Sang. Widow of Boie, son of Pinari's mother by another husband. At Boie's death Pinari took her according to custom. She has one child, whom Pinari also took. Pinari said she had no children by him 'yet'. She was still wearing her hair in the fashion of widows when I came to the village, but cut it while I was there. I think Boie had been dead for about a year.

At the time of my visit, Pinari was negotiating for a girl at the village of Ieta, on Buka, from which his first wife came. He had been over several times to try to get her, but she did not want him and always ran away into the bush. Her family were in favour of the match, so he probably got her in the end, but they were not forcing her. One night a storm blew down a large tree in the near neighbourhood of the village, blocking the road to it. Pinari told me that he was sure it was caused by magic made by Gomar to spite him, because she was angry that he wished to take another wife.

While he quite clearly prefers Kwimau to any of the others, Pinari pays quite a lot of attention to all his wives, and to their children, whether they are his own or belong to a former husband. He is generous with tobacco, and when he goes to a plantation to sell copra he often brings them some little present from the store.

As a further example of the marriages that take place among these people, I give the history of Sobak, who is a commoner.

Marital history of Sobak

1. Sobak's first wife was Sieli, to whom he was betrothed when both were young. They had no children for some time, then there was a son, who is now about ten. Sieli has been dead for some years.

2. His second was Niwuts, whom he married when he was older but she quite a child. He divorced her 'because she had a sore' (probably a tropical ulcer, these being frequent and often very bad in this region). He told me that he said to her: 'You go back to your own village, I don't want to be married to you.' There were no children. She now lives alone at Gowē, a village farther down the coast. She has not remarried.

3. His third, with whom he lives at present, is Tsonakets, who was previously divorced from Takoi of Hanahan (a village on the east coast of Buka), for what reason I do not know. Takoi told Sobak he could have her if he liked. Sobak consulted Pinari, who approved, and had her brought over to Kurtatchi. She has a son, now in his teens, whom

the children accompany the mother. In south Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait the wife of the deceased remains in the community; frequently the dead man's brother marries the widow; but if he is not so inclined or is already sufficiently provided with wives, the widow can marry another native if he pays the dead man's brother the customary purchase price.

[8] The chieftains normally have several wives; the number varies from five to fifty and even more. The common people have one, two or three wives, but rarely more. Male slaves may not marry.

The women are treated relatively well; to be sure, they have to do a great part of the field work, but they are not slaves to the same extent as on the other Solomon Islands. Also their morality is on a far higher plane than elsewhere in the group. Promiscuous intercourse among unwedded people does not take place to the extent that it does, for example, on St. Christoval and on Guadalcanar; strict propriety is insisted upon in marriage. The wives frequently have a decisive influence on the conduct of their husbands, and I have often had occasion to observe that once you are on good terms with the wives, the husbands regulate their behavior accordingly. Gifts distributed to a few old women often have better success than all arts of persuasion. The chieftain's wives have an even better life; many ~~of them~~ do nothing at all; they keep their husb and company when he is at home and do various kinds of handwork. Some see to it that the plantations always supply the requisite amount of foodstuffs, but only when the husband condescends to work in the plantation with his own hands do all of his better halves accompany him. When he goes on war expeditions the whole group stays at home under the surveillance of a few of the older men who are unfit for battle. One of the chieftain's wives is designated as chief wife, and her male children are the actual heirs of the chieftain. When individual communities live on islands too small to support plantations and produce the needed amount of food, it is the wives' job to keep up market trade with the wealthier neighboring districts. Early in the morning you can see them going to the market in large and small boats, usually accompanied by an older man who probably has the duty of supervisor, since a single old man is scarcely able to provide any sort of effective protection in case of an enemy attack.